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THE WEEKLY STANDARD

The Constitution and the Union of the States
"They must be preserved."

RALEIGH:

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1850.

GOV. MANLY'S MESSAGE.

Gov. Manly "blows hot and cold" in his late Message on the Slavery question. He commends the so-called Compromise to our "willing and hearty support" in one breath, and in the next he talks vaguely about our "rights"—says "these will never be surrendered"—and that "we take our stand in the ranks of Southern destiny." What else, pray, if the worst should happen, could we do? Could we join "the ranks" of Northern "destiny"? Is that a supposable case?

We can neither "willingly" nor "heartily" support this so-called Compromise. It is enough for the people of this State, who have gained nothing by it, to acquiesce in it as the law of the land. It circumvents Slavery, abolishes the slave-trade in the District, organizes Territorial governments only on former principles, and takes from Texas, for a consideration, millions of acres of slave soil. We have got, it is true, the fugitive-slave law; but the Convention gave us that before, and so we have gained nothing on this score. Gov. Manly seems to think that the whole question has been "adjusted," and that we are now to have peace; but whence comes this repose, and when? Are not the elements more fiery and ungovernable now than heretofore? Has not this boasted measure, instead of securing harmony and reviving brotherly affection, increased dissension in both sections and aroused still stronger passions? And wherefore? Because it was unjust to one great section, which has never assailed the rights of the other; and because the section which has gained every thing and lost nothing by the bargain, is now unwilling, as a part of the bargain, to perform its plain duty under the common Constitution.

Gov. Manly, it seems, could not allude to this question without denouncing Southern "factionists and agitators," and making a covert attack on South Carolina. It is obvious that he considers such statesmen as Clingman, Shepard, and Venable, who insist upon our rights, as among these "factionists"; and he calls upon the "sons of freedom" to combine to "conquer" the spirit of disunion, "heretofore confined to some particular section of the country"—meaning South Carolina. The Governor appears to forget that all this time we of the South have been passive and the North active; and that they are the "factionists" and "agitators" on this question. He perceives no very great danger in the North except from "a body of fanatics contemptible for numbers and respectability"; and he is greatly shocked at the "spectacle" of a "sacred" alliance—more than that—a Constitutional national Union of a noble people in peril of being dismembered and broken up by gangs of runaway negroes, and their crazy allies." Now the Governor either knows nothing about our assailants or their number in the free States, or, like the National Intelligencer, he would conceal the facts, for party purposes, from the people of his State. Does he not know that nearly every free State has instructed its Representatives to vote against the further extension of Slavery? And does he not feel, as a southern man, that to circumscribe slavery is to destroy it and in the end? And does he not know, also, that many of the free States have instructed their Representatives to vote to abolish the institution in the District? And has he, as the Governor of a sovereign State, yet to learn, that nearly every free State has passed laws forbidding the use of their jails to the masters of fugitive slaves, and imposing heavy penalties upon their officers if they even lift a finger to aid these masters in their efforts to recover their property? Does he not know that Horace Mann has triumphed over Daniel Webster in Massachusetts, and that Sedawadism has swept the "Empire State"? Is he so blind as not to see that thus far the fugitive-slave law is inoperative and a dead letter? And yet in view of all these facts Gov. Manly utters halloes to the so-called Compromise, and leaves the inference on the minds of the people, by his language and mode of treating the subject, that the Union is in peril only from "gangs of runaway negroes and their crazy allies." A pretty sentinel, truly, upon the watchtower of the "sons of freedom!"

By the way, has the Governor ever heard of a certain "factionist" and "agitator," who, in order to get enough votes to re-elect him to a certain office, came out in one of his campaigns and sought to array one portion of his State against the other on this very question, and then denied it? Gov. Manly should be the last individual to talk of "factionists" and "agitators."

We learn that at the late Term of the Federal Court held in this City, the young man from Greenville by the name of *Burge*, who submitted on a charge of robbing the Mail, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Much sympathy was expressed in this case, and the hope is indulged by the young man's friends that after a time he will be pardoned by the President.

The case of *Thomas Harvey*, of Newbern, charged also with robbing the Mail, was postponed to the next Term of the Court.

THE LEGISLATURE.

We refer to our columns to-day for a sketch of the very animated debate in the Commons on Tuesday, which grew out of the proposition of Mr. Sherard, of Wayne, to repeal the charter of the North Carolina Rail Road. The proposition was rejected by an overwhelming majority. We did not hear the whole of the debate, but our Reporter has endeavored to do justice to all the gentlemen who participated in it.

On Wednesday the Hon. Robert Strange was elected Solicitor for the 5th Judicial Circuit; Cad. Jones, Jr., Esq., of Orange, Solicitor for the 4th Circuit; and George S. Stevenson, Esq., of Craven, for the 2nd Circuit. These are all capital appointments. We have spoken elsewhere of that of Judge Strange. Mr. Jones has been restored to the place from which he was proscribed by the Whigs, to make room for Mr. Fox, who now goes out, according to the "fortunes of war." If his friends, or the friends of any Whig who may fail to be re-elected, should complain, let them remember that the Whig leaders promised not to remove Democrats for opinion's sake, and then did it, just as if no such promise had been made. Let these gentlemen, we repeat, consider of that.

We have no doubt that both Mr. Jones and Mr. Stevenson will discharge their important duties in the most faithful and creditable manner. They are well qualified, in every respect, for the posts to which they have been called.

In the Senate, on Thursday, Col. Joyner introduced Resolutions on Slavery, which were read and referred to the joint committee of eighteen; and in the Commons Mr. Walton introduced Resolutions on the same subject, which were referred to the same committee.

MR. SHEPARD'S SPEECH.

The Hon. William B. Shepard delivered a most powerful and conclusive Speech in the Senate, on Wednesday last, on the Slavery question. On all the points embraced in his Resolutions, and in relation to the course it becomes North Carolina to adopt in this emergency, he was alike clear, emphatic, and eloquent. He showed, by statistics and calculations, the inevitable result to the slave States of the late action of Congress circumscribing Slavery; and he denounced the so-called Compromise, so much lauded in certain quarters, in the strongest terms. He said that division among ourselves on this question had well nigh undone us; and he appealed to every true son of North Carolina, without respect to party, to rally now to avert impending calamities. He also examined Mr. Badger's doctrine of allegiance, and demonstrated its mingled absurdity and enormity.

It was the Speech of a statesman.

We shall not attempt any thing like a report of it, as Mr. Shepard has promised to write it out for the press.

LETTER FROM JAMES BUCHANAN.

The letter of JAMES BUCHANAN to the Union Meeting at Philadelphia, which we publish below, sheds additional lustre upon his honored name. He is as sound on this vital question as we could desire him to be; and we thank him from our heart for the justice he does in this great letter to the Southern people. We hope his solemn admonitions to the Northern people will incline them to sounder and better views of this question; and that ultimately concord and harmony may be restored to the whole Confederacy. We say we hope this—we should be sure of it, if all the public men of the free States were like James Buchanan. The following is his letter, dated

WHEATLAND, (near Lancaster, Penn.),
November 19, 1850.

GENTLEMEN: I have been honored by the receipt of your very kind invitation, "in behalf of the friends of the constitution and the Union, without distinction of party, resident in the city and county of Philadelphia," to attend a public meeting, to be held on the 21st instant, at the Chinese Museum. I regret that engagements, which I need not specify, will deprive me of the pleasure and the privilege of uniting with the great, patriotic and enlightened community of your city and county in manifesting their attachment for the constitution and the Union, in the present alarming crisis in our public affairs.

On a recent occasion, at the celebration of the opening of the eastern portion of our great central railroad from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, I said that the cordial support of that magnificent improvement was a platform on which all Pennsylvania, of every political denomination, could stand together in harmony. The sentiment elicited an enthusiastic response from all present, whether democrats or whigs. I now say that the platform of our blessed Union is strong enough and broad enough to sustain all true-hearted Americans. It is an elevated, a glorious platform, on which the down-trodden nations of the earth gaze with hope and desire, with admiration and astonishment. Our Union is a star in the West, whose genial and steadily increasing influence will, at last, should we remain a united people, dispel the gloom of despotism from the ancient nations of the world. Its moral power will prove to be more potent than millions of armed mercenaries. And shall this glorious star set in darkness before it has accomplished half its mission? Heaven forbid! Let us all exclaim with the heroic Jackson, "The Union must and shall be preserved."

And what a Union this has been! The history of the human race presents no parallel to it. The bit of striped bunting, which was to be swiftly swept from the ocean by the British navy, according to the prediction of a British statesman previous to the war of 1812, is now displayed in every sea and in every port of the habitable globe. Our glorious stars and stripes—the flag of our country—now protect Americans in every clime. "I am a Roman citizen!" was once the proud exclamation which everywhere shielded the ancient Roman from insult and injustice. "I am an American citizen!" is now an exclamation of almost equal potency throughout the civilized world. This is a tribute due to the power and the resources of these thirty-one united States. In a just cause we may defy the world in arms. We have lately presented a spectacle which has astonished even the greatest captain of the age. At the call of their country, an irresistible host of armed men, and men, too, skilled in the use of arms, sprung up like the soldiers of Cadmus, from the mountains and valleys of our great confederacy. The struggle among them was not who should remain at home, but who should enjoy the privilege of braving the dangers and the privations of a foreign war in defence of their country's rights. Heaven forbid that the question of slavery should ever prove to be the stone thrown into their midst by Cadmus to make them turn their arms against each other and perish in mutual conflict!

Whilst our power as a united people secures us against the injustice and assault of foreign enemies, what has been our condition at home? Here every citizen stands erect in the proud proportions bestowed upon him by his Maker, and feels himself equal to his fellow-men. He is protected by a government of just laws in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property; he sits down under his own vine and his own fig tree, and there is none to make him afraid. A vast confederacy composed of thirty-one sovereign and independent States is open before him, in which he feels himself to be everywhere at home, and may anywhere through it—its extended limits seek his own prosperity and happiness in his own way. This

most perfect freedom of intercourse prevails among all the States.

Here the blessings of free trade have been realized under the constitution of the United States, and, by the consent of all, to a greater extent than the world has ever witnessed. Our domestic tonnage and capital employed in this trade exceed, beyond all comparison, that employed in our trade, with all the rest of the world. The mariner of Maine, after braving the dangers of the passage around Cape Horn, finds himself at home in his own country, when entering the great port of San Francisco, on the other side of the world.

Heaven seems to have bound these States together by adamant bonds of powerful interest. They are mutually dependent on each other—mutually necessary to each other's welfare. The numerous and powerful Commonwealths which are spread over the valley of the Mississippi must seek the markets of the world for their productions, through the mouth of that father of rivers. A strong naval power is necessary to keep this channel always free in time of war, and an immense commercial marine is required to carry their productions to the markets of the world and bring back their returns. The same remark applies with almost equal force to the cotton-growing and planting States of the Gulf of Mexico and on the Atlantic. Who to supply this naval power and this commercial marine? The hardy and enterprising sons of the North, whose home has always been on the mountain wave. Neither the pursuits nor the habits of the people of the western and the southern States fit them for such an employment. They are naturally the producers, whilst the northern people are the carriers. This establishes a mutual and profitable dependence upon each other, which is one of the strongest bonds of our Union.

The common sufferings and common glories of the past, the prosperity of the present, and the brilliant hopes of the future, must impress every patriotic heart with deep love and devotion for the Union. Who that is now a citizen of this vast republic, extending from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, does not shudder at the idea of being transformed into a citizen of one of the broken, jealous, and hostile fragments? What patriot who has not shed the last drop of his blood to see the thirty-one brilliant stars which now float proudly upon our country's flag, amid the battle and the breeze, rudely torn from the national banner, and scattered in confusion over the face of the earth?

Rest assured that all the patriotic emotions of every true-hearted Pennsylvanian, in favor of the Union and the constitution, are shared by the southern people. What battle-field has not been illustrated by their gallant deeds? And when, in our history, have they ever shrunk from sacrifice and suffering in the cause of their country? What, then, means the muttering thunder which we hear from the South? The signs of the times are truly portentous. Whilst many in the South openly advocate the cause of secession and disunion, a large majority, as I firmly believe, still fondly cling to the Union, awaiting with deep anxiety the action of a public meeting, to be held on the 21st instant, at the Chinese Museum. I regret that engagements, which I need not specify, will deprive me of the pleasure and the privilege of uniting with the great, patriotic and enlightened community of your city and county in manifesting their attachment for the constitution and the Union, in the present alarming crisis in our public affairs.

1. Agitation in the North on the subject of southern slavery must be rebuked and put down by a strong, energetic, and enlightened public opinion.

2. The fugitive-slave law must be executed in its letter and in its spirit.

On each of these points I shall offer a few observations.

Those are greatly mistaken who suppose that the temper which is now raging in the South has been raised solely by the acts or omissions of the present Congress. The minds of the southern people have been gradually prepared for this explosion by the events of the last fifteen years. Much and devotedly as they love the Union, many of them are now taught to believe that the peace of their own firesides and the security of their families cannot be preserved without the sacrifice of the Union. The crusade of the abolitionists against their domestic peace and security commenced in 1835. General Jackson, in his annual message to Congress in December of that year, speaks of it in the following emphatic language: "I must also invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the South by attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory addresses, addressed to the passions of the slaves, and to the various other means by which the minds of the southern people have been gradually prepared for this explosion by the events of the last fifteen years. Much and devotedly as they love the Union, many of them are now taught to believe that the peace of their own firesides and the security of their families cannot be preserved without the sacrifice of the Union. The crusade of the abolitionists against their domestic peace and security commenced in 1835. 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